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837 cases the wife is informed of the husband's decision. According to Nitli: "She can't say no. I'm her boss." He added: "No matter if friends, and you give her kids. So long you not sick." However questionable such ideal control of the husband may be, the fact is that a wife will often be fully willing to act as a partner in such an arrangement, because she herself desires the husband's friend and finds any other means of gratifying her desire difficult. She may even add her insistence for such an exchange to her husband's, in the event that the other partner remains aloof from the proposal. A rare variant of this pattern is for an unmarried man to supply his married friend with an unmarried girl in exchange for sexual access to the latter's wife. Frequently extramarital sexual exchanges are arranged under condition of intoxication. Wife lending also occurs to oblige a man who is away from his wife.

548 Evidence of the direct sale of sexual favors was noted in only one young woman during the period when American troops and construction workers were crowding Lower Post. Although other promiscuous girls undoubtedly received money and gifts of cigarettes, candy, and lighters from soldiers, the motive behind their behavior does not appear to have been primarily pecuniary. Most girls were willing to exchange sexual access for truck rides and the stimulation of erotic situations. Local white trappers also make efforts to secure Indian girls as temporary sexual partners and in return generally give them money. Since no girl relies to any extent on such financial remuneration, a pattern of prostitution may be questioned and other motives inferred. Such motives include a desire for sexual interaction and a reluctance to offend persistent white men.

835 Incest is regarded with abhorrence and there is a tendency to classify as incestuous any sexual relationship between relatives (other than the paternal male and maternal female cross-cousins) closer than third cousins and between members of the same society. Not only would discovery of an incestuous relationship arouse strong public opinion, but such behavior is thought to lead to insanity in the guilty couple and deformity in the offspring.

239 The only forms of atypical sexual relations known to occur in Kaska society are rape and manifest homosexuality. Since premarital sexual intercourse is often carried out in a manner suggesting rape, particular attention was paid to the definition of this form of behavior. Informants agreed that pursuing a girl in order to win sexual access to her is not necessarily rape. They pointed out that rape can occur only when a girl unmistakably resents a man's attention and fights him for her freedom. One is still left unclear as to how much struggle is required to demarcate the typical from the atypical. Field notes contain several incidents in which from two to six youths were observed dragging girls into bushes or vacant houses. On one occasion June Barre, the youngest promiscuous girl in the community, requested the company of the ethnographer's wife en route to a dance. She was asked if she ran from boys in order to tease them or because she was afraid, and replied that she ran because she was frightened. Yet the ethnographer's wife once interrupted a situation in which three older youths were struggling with June. The boys ran off but the girl, instead of retaining her safety, quickly went into the night alone. Obviously the ambivalence which girls seem to manifest in sexual situations makes it difficult to recognize rape. The fact that girls traveling at night are often accompanied by partners helps somewhat in making a distinction. When such girls accede to sexual demands expressed through teasing and pursuit, they separate

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willingly. Any reluctance to separate or any assistance furnished by a girl's partner indicate unwillingness or at least unreadiness for intercourse.

Homosexuality can be divided into two types, overt homosexuality and behavior which seems indicative of repressed or inhibited homosexual tendencies. The former behavior, although socially condemned, nevertheless occurs secretly, generally in the form of mutual masturbation. Informants reported overt homosexuality to occur in both sexes following puberty and to be largely a consequence of sexual frustration. "No girl, can't catch," Nitla explained, "he stuck for girl, some man do that. Girl, can't catch a man, do that, bother girl." Apart from social disapproval if discovered, the behavior is not associated with any specific sanctions.

Overt homosexual tendencies are often publicly demonstrated between intoxicated men. Several such instances were observed. When Richard Day, Edward Prince, and the latter's wife were drinking in the ethnographer's tent, Richard, after gesturing toward Edward's penis, began to simulate masturbation of the latter. This was really frottage, as Edward was fully clothed and the hand did not rest directly on the genitals but in their vicinity. On another occasion Old Man was drinking and, turning to Richard Day, spoke of how he had teased and wrestled with the latter when Richard was a small boy. He began to speak of men "fooling" with boys the way they "fool" with women. He gestured playfully toward Richard's genitals and referred to the youth's "little worm." At a later party Old Man told his son-in-law, Harry Lang, to give Donald Sam a cup of brew. Harry put his arms around the boy and drew the latter to his knee. He called Donald, "My little sweetheart." Donald bore this patiently but Old Man cried: "Shame, mustn't do that."

Behavior suggesting hidden homosexual impulses is revealed by unmarried adolescents of both sexes. It is chiefly manifested in embracing, wrestling, and by a youth playfully coming up behind another young man and pressing his body close to the latter. Sometimes a swift coital-like rhythm is manifested in these endeavors. On one occasion Flower Joe was observed playfully simulating the strumming of a guitar on her cousin's, Irene Wiley's, breast. Irene showed no reaction.

No particular value is associated with male continence. Carefully regulated sexual behavior (that is, the avoidance of excess) may aid a man to live long and bring "good luck," but some sexual experience is nevertheless regarded as desirable. Continence may actually be so dangerous as excessive sexuality if it leads to "worry about girl." In such cases a man may "Lose his brains, go crazy." Therefore the advice is: "Better get married."

The idea of a woman remaining a lifelong virgin was regarded as amusing. The informant rejected this notion as an impossibility and stated that if a woman of thirty, who had never been sexually initiated, were to see a man, "She grab him. She sleep right there. More worse than dog." However the informant thought it very unlikely that young men would ever permit a woman to get that far into life without some sexual experience.

Recreation

No one who has learned to know the Kaska people can doubt their great love for recreation or "fun." Necessarily reduced to a minimum during the family's isolation in winter, recreational patterns flourish during the summer in Lower Post. The formal amusements

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present no unusual problems so far as the application of European and American derived explanatory concepts is concerned.[18]

Abnormal states. In this section attention will be directed to reactions arising as a result, of the disorganization of the processes by which individuals normally adjust to reality. We will consider some processes of disorganization produced by alcohol and mental illness. A characteristic form of manic-like behavior occurs under conditions of alcoholic intoxication and may be superficially compared to running amok. The following examples are from field notes.

7:22:45 (Lower Post). An Indian woman had been drinking most of the night with white men. Early in the morning she rushed into the ethnographer's cabin, waking his family. Her hair was disheveled and emotionally she appeared to be in a state of intense agitation. She half fell, half threw herself on the floor alongside our bedding and began sobbing and moaning incoherently. Following attempts to comfort her, she finally quieted down and permitted herself to be led home. No sooner had a few clothes been taken off than she rushed out of the house in her petticoat and stockinged feet. Sobbing anew she rushed into the home of a nearby white man and, climbing into his bed, began to kiss and lie on top of him. The man tried to urge her out of the building but she would not be persuaded. Instead she began to plead, saying: "You want full blooded Injun? You like a full blood Injun? I like you." This began to annoy the white man who swore in anger and ordered her out of his home. At this point the woman reacted with even greater rage and began a stream of obscenity which provoked the man to try to push her out the open door. Once more the ethnographer and his wife sought to calm the woman and finally succeeded in bringing her home. All attempts to get her to bed were resisted. She was too agitated and disorganized to relax. Another white man came into the house and she began to demonstrate affection toward him, calling him "brother-in-law." With great tact this man escaped the situation and the woman was finally persuaded to go to bed. She now sought to send a message to a white trapper who could supply her with liquor. At the same time remorse and shame appeared in her behavior. She began to cry and told the ethnographer's wife not to bother with her, that she wasn't worth any attention. She also revealed how a white man had forced his way into her home the previous evening and insisted she take a few drinks. It was not long before her resistance to drinking had broken down. After this period of self-recrimination she fell asleep.

As the day progressed the distracted woman secured more liquor until she finally wound up in the restaurant where, becoming abusive, she had to be told to leave. For a long time she could not be found but in the evening a boy informed the ethnographer that she was sleeping under some willows in a downpour of rain. When discovered she was suffering from severe chills and complained of a painful headache. Otherwise she was quite subdued except for occasional moaning. After taking hot tea, soup, and aspirin she went to sleep.

8:24:45 (Lower Post). During playful sexual advances made by Edward Prince toward Peter Tom, the latter suddenly became angry, seized Edward, and in a few minutes was choking him in the creek of his arm. Peter called on Edward to surrender, while the latter sought to dig his fingers into his opponent's back. When Old Man and Mrs. Man pulled Peter off, the youth

[18] The conclusions Seligman draws from Ashanti dreams and dream interpretation also largely apply to the Kaska data. Like Ashanti dreams, Kaska dreaming shows wish-fulfillment as well as conflict elements. In interpreting dreams, the Kaska (like the Ashanti and western psychoanalysis) often reject the manifest content, but do not generally attribute meanings that are opposite from the dream's manifest content. Rattray, *Religion and Art in Ashanti* (1923), 204.

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158 838 579 was trembling violently and sobbing. Mrs. Man finally succeeded in leading him a short distance away. Here the old lady (who was herself intoxicated) tried to comfort Peter, her grandson, and drew his head down on her lap. After a few minutes he calmed down somewhat and moved to rejoin the men. Edward began anew to make obscene and derogatory references about Peter. For a while the latter was content to reply in kind. Suddenly he sprang to his feet again, as did Edward. Each was ready to fight. Taunting one another they moved to level ground above the riverbank where Peter swung in rage but missed his opponent. Old Man and his wife pulled the two apart but Peter tore himself free from his grandmother and went off by himself sobbing and otherwise revealing intense agitation. His unsuppressed rage and hostility expressed themselves when he viciously struck at some willows with his clenched fist. In a little while he was again calm.

158 273 8:20:43 (Bridge). Drinking had been going on for about six hours. River Joe began to abuse Richard Day for sleeping with Irene Wiley (his brother's daughter) and for never giving her food or money. Richard did not reply, but River Joe called on his son-in-law, Louis Man, telling the latter what was angering him. In an immediate outburst of rage Louis turned on Richard, but the latter quickly fled to Edward Prince's camp, Louis following. Meanwhile, expressing his anger to himself, River Joe began tearing down his niece's mosquito tent, carrying some of her blankets to his own camp. Irene stood off shouting her uncle, calling him "crazy old man" and "crazy dog." At the same time Louis was systematically demolishing Edward Prince's tent, from which all occupants had fled. Louis' rage was not yet abated and he once more set out to look for Richard, rushing into the ethnographer's camp and accusing the latter of harboring the youth. Frustrated in his search, Louis now began to direct aggression toward his wife. When Mrs. Man finally ran off with her classificatory sister, Irene, Louis began a frenzied search for her, lurching through the camp area in a drunken stupor. After he was unable to find her, he announced that he was going to shoot himself and fetched a rifle from his tent. The gun was torn from his grasp and emptied whereupon the wrought up man finally began to calm down.

158 273 579 9:23:43 (Old Kraus's Place). Adele Kraus had been drinking fruit wine for several hours. During this time she had manifested direct affection toward her husband's brother, John Kraus, with whom she had been living for several months. After their guests had gone, she began to demonstrate violent behavior, smashing furniture and other objects in the cabin. In an effort to quiet her, John locked the girl in the building. This still more infuriated her. She removed her brother-in-law's high power rifle from its place on the wall and threatened to shoot through the door and kill John. The latter rushed into the cabin and secured the gun. The couple now began to quarrel bitterly, Adele promising John that she would surely kill him on the following day. At this point Irene Wiley returned to the house and tried to quiet the distracted girl. Adele inexplicably directed her aggression toward Irene, and began to tear the latter's hair. In return Irene struck Adele in the face, causing the latter's nose to bleed. John had somewhile awakened the ethnographer, asking him to stop the girls' fighting. When the ethnographer entered the room Adele lay on the bloody floor sobbing violently and complaining that Irene and John had hit her. With intense anguish she wailed over and over: "Ajya nanna! Ajya nanna!" In the bunk her child began to cry, but Adele paid no attention. Finally Pauletta Donnelly came around and staunched the flow of blood. She then led Adele to the latter's bed where Adele continued to moan and call for her mother.

158 273 While all drinkers do not break down into such catastrophic emotional behavior, alcoholic intoxication has a noticeable effect in releasing emotionality—excitement, aggression,

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157 539 181x

piece of charcoal into her mouth. Occasionally the mother-in-law threw a piece of meat to the "old woman." The brothers became suspicious of the old woman's actions and made her tell what had happened. Then they went to the owl's nest and pleaded for their wife to return. But the owl swooped down at them saying: "I'm going to eat you." The brothers became angry and one of them shot the owl with a bow and arrow. The owl failed to die and, referring to the point in its leg, said: "That's going to be my sinew."

157 181x 538

This story was told by Old Man after he had been talking to Nitla about the latter's loss of Adele to John. He teased Nitla with living as people did in "old fashioned" days and was reminded of this story. The tale again stresses the deceitfulness of women. Although men are dependent on women, they always suffer a residual fear lest they be deceived or overwhelmed (eaten). In a burst of hostility, men fantasy using their strength to kill the ambivalent object. But male self-assertion, symbolized by the arrow, simply strengthens the woman. The closing incident of the tale might also be interpreted with reference to the self-assertion which men unconsciously invest in coitus. The penis, instead of conquering the female has its strength incorporated by the unassailable sexual object. In other words, men fear failure in their sexual relationships.

Female homosexuality and masculine striving are two elements in another folktale.

157 181x 539 838 831

A TRIBE OF WOMEN

Two brothers, caught on an ice floe, drifted downriver until they reached Fort Liard. One of the boys was young and not smart; the other was already a little smart. They reached land and found a camp in which there were only women. The women fed the brothers. As the youths ate they saw another group of women return to camp with caribou meat. The leading woman in the camp explained that in this country all male children were killed at birth because they didn't want men. Men, they said, hurt women. Here women "bothered" each other and in that way conceived children who were painfully born through Cesarian section. The older boy told the women how children were born in the country upriver. Then the younger brother saw the "stick gun," which the women used in hunting. To fire the weapon, the hunter hit the back of an arrow with a stick. The younger brother did not believe that such a weapon was practical, and invited the women to shoot him. The women refused but the boy walked off a distance and insisted that they try. So the women killed the younger brother with the stick gun. The older boy then showed the tribe how to bury the dead in a grave instead of under a pile of brush. Later the older brother returned to his own people.**

** In Arapesh a similar myth occurs "in which a wandering male finds a group of independent women who have flying foxes (flying foxes are the symbol of aggressive, actively sexual, non-maternal women) as lovers to stretch their vulvae and who bear them only female children. The man marries them. They are pictured as ignorant of the proper order of childbirth (for a male child) so that the first pregnant woman is cut open and dies; after which the man teaches them how to bear children properly. He then grabs all the flying foxes in their tamberan house and burns them up; only one small flying fox escapes and makes all the bird to avenge the death of the flying foxes. The birds attack the man, out of his penis and drop it among the women, who bury it sorrowfully. Meanwhile, he has begotten enough sons to continue the race normally." (Schaal, *The Mountain Arapesh II Supernaturalism* [1947], 247-248, see also 358-360.) Not only is the remarkable similarity of these tales, originating in two distant societies noteworthy, but more striking is the fact that both Arapesh and Kaska society pattern ambivalent attitudes to sex which this tale serves to express. In Arapesh the story "expresses the men's fear of the woman's independent sexuality which threatens death." In Kaska the tale, among other things, reveals the danger which unconsciously bedeed men perceive in too intense sexual interaction.

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157 x181 831 prevalence of premarital sexual promiscuity as well as the high incidence of extramarital adultery?

Sexual promiscuity in adolescence represents a complexly determined phenomenon, all of whose keys we cannot pretend to locate. Focussing on the motivational aspects of this behavior, with only a passing nod to the awakening glandular processes and the lack of manifest controls imposed on the behavior of adolescents, we can point to this period (when drinking also begins) as providing youth with one of the first opportunities since early childhood to experience release of emotional isolation. Promiscuity is more specifically explicable as affording the egocentric component of the girl's personality an opportunity to express itself in a revolt against her parentally enforced, passive, serving role. At this age too the boy's general self-assertion begins to be important in hunting and trapping, also embracing his awakening genitality; promiscuity means for him chances to prove himself and acquire further prestige. The biologically derived anxieties of sexual failing probably reinforce his drive to succeed in non-sexual fields, while failure in those spheres in turn intensifies potency anxiety. Finally, promiscuity offers a chance to satisfy affect hunger without involving either sex in too close or inextricable emotional bonds—safety lying in the number and variety of partners. Richard Day indicates this in his complaint of having found the effects of being in love so unpleasant that he would not want to risk the state again. He explained that love arises after copulating with the same girl several times and admitted that he avoids persistent intercourse with the same partner.[88]

157 x181 837 In marriage, promiscuity is probably often a flight from the anxiety aroused by too intense interpersonal relations between two people. The ambivalence with which the spouses enter marriage foreshadows the insecurity which develops when infatuation wears off and emotional isolation begins to be threatened by the dependence promoted through living together. In view of the Indians' moderate ego tonicity, it may be expected that marriage will also cause a man to feel the pressure of economic responsibilities. A husband who tries to allay this anxiety by too great reliance on his wife invites fresh anxiety from the ensuing conflict between egocentric and dependency motives. Extramarital promiscuity and divorce are attempts to substitute transitory and unthreatening sexual experiences for oppressive marriage relations.

157 x181 838 We now come to the expression of sexual constriction in homosexuality. Again it must be emphasized that it is not our intention to explain this tendency fully but only to throw light on some of its motivational foundations. Furthermore, we do not intend to discuss overt homosexual behaviors. Mutual masturbation probably grows out of close interpersonal association but we had no opportunity to study its psychological results. We can

[88] There is little doubt that sexual promiscuity is conditioned by the social climate in which it occurs, i.e., that it is structurally related to other aspects of culture. Recent papers have begun to study this problem, from the standpoint of personality in western culture but the results must be interpreted cautiously in view of the fact that the subjects of investigation comprise a selected sample of promiscuous men, namely those who contracted venereal disease. See Wittenberg and Cowan, *Some Psychological Aspects of Sexual Promiscuity* (1944), and Watts and Wilson, *A Study of Personality Factors among Venereal Disease Patients* (1945). It has also been pointed out that female promiscuity may be a product of poor emotional adjustment and latent homosexuality. See Dupouy and Picard, *Une homosexuelle méconnue* (1928).

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discuss only the significance of homosexual tendencies like intrasexual friendships and tactual (non-genital) contacts. Bisexual tendencies are most pronounced at early adolescence when the fear of sexuality is apt to be greatest. Homosexual impulses at this time represent an alternative for intense intersexual relations, substituting attachments that do not pose an immediate threat to emotional isolation. Intrasexual friendships further offer an opportunity to satiate affect hunger, particularly through kinaesthetic satisfactions which omit any need of verbal self-revelation. One reason why such associations are continued beyond early adolescence lies in the fact that sexual constriction, founded on a base of sexual hostility, prohibits these satisfactions to accrue from oppositely sexed partners. Homosexual attachments, however, are not completely unthreatening to emotional isolation. This is indicated by the fact that intrasexual friendships are not invested with intense emotion (except, perhaps, between sisters) but are highly transitory and easily abandoned; the partners are readily substituted. In other words, Kaska homosexuality is promiscuous. As in premarital sexuality, when a homosexual association begins to grow too intense, it breaks down and partners are replaced.

As an aspect of emotional isolation, sexual constriction has been described as a conflict between the acceptable pleasure functions and the threatening affectional functions of sex. We have also tried to unravel the complexity with which the Kaska world and self-views condition the significance of sexual situations.

Expression in the Rorschach test situation. Three aspects of Kaska Rorschach performance reveal emotional isolation; first, insensitivity to emotionally exciting stimuli; second, repressed spontaneity, and, finally, indications of emotional anergy.

Rorschach literature recognizes three types of responses as revealing sensitivity to emotionally exciting stimuli. These types are, first, responses making use only of color; second, color responses which are secondarily determined by form, and, finally, form answers which make additional use of color. Before considering their expression in the Rorschach protocols of Kaska adults, let us define each of these groups.

Pure color responses (*C*) denote an instantaneously evoked, uninhibited, and relatively infantile expression of emotion "without regard to time and place."[9] According to Klopfer and Kelley, they reveal the extinction of all "rational permeation."[10] Color determined form answers (*CF*) indicate a heightened consciousness of the world to which an individual is aware of being required to adjust his emotional expressions in the interests of affection and social acceptance. "But the center of reference is still himself. He is still gratifying himself."[11] According to Klopfer and Kelley, in the *CF* response "the consideration of rational elements is not altogether abandoned but the emotional stimulation" predominates.[12] Finally, the form determined color responses (*FC*) indicate a full acceptance of "the outside world" by an adult who "knows its feelings and feels with it. He reacts with emotions but these are tempered by his regard for how the other fellow feels."[13] Such answers indicate "that the subject is open to the emotional stimulus implied in the coloring but is not willing to

[9] Beck, Rorschach's Test. II. *A Variety of Personality Pictures* (1945), 30.
[10] Klopfer and Kelley, *The Rorschach Technique* (1942), 186.
[11] Klopfer and Kelley, *The Rorschach Technique* (1942), 183.

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like-sexed siblings. Between brothers this relationship often has an ambivalent quality, the functions of which are not clear, but between sisters the ties are very warm and probably give the girl a greater measure of emotional security than the boy has any opportunity of achieving. Yet sibling relationships are also influenced by the emotional isolation which never permits the child to relax completely affectional detachment.

Childhood activities. From six or seven years of age the Kaska girl is introduced to household duties, often in spite of her reluctance, while the boy's economically productive role does not begin for many more years. From this age, however, both sexes are usually thrown increasingly in the company of like-sexed parents or siblings from whom they begin to perceive the nature of their economic roles. Meanwhile play continues until with adolescence there begins the first stirring of the sexual impulse signalling adulthood.

The early domestic role of the girl has important effects in modifying, to some extent, the egocentric component of her personality and preparing her for the relatively passive female role. She is given an opportunity to develop capacities around the camp and unconsciously utilizes her serving role to remove some of the pain of isolation. The cooperation of the family's female relatives further provides some affectional gratification and is accompanied by a slight diminution of egocentricity. In general, however, the girl executes her role in autonomous terms and with a degree of individual responsibility which prevents any great development of passivity.

Egocentricity is less hindered in the boy. In the absence of early tasks, his career is freer and less subject to control and demands. On the other hand his development is more discontinuous than the girl's for, following childhood's period of freedom, he is confronted with the responsibilities of a man sized role. The situation is one which invites confusion. The fact that the boy is not trained for active serving is an important factor in this confusion and one which, in a setting of moderate ego tonicity, is responsible for the conflicts over responsibility in the adult male. On the other hand the boy comes to appreciate the values of work and general self-assertion as defenses against emotional isolation,[80] but the fact that with adolescence these gratifications entail more of a sense of duty and become less a matter of choice adds to confusion and increases readiness for dependence.

With puberty the personalities of both sexes are quite fully formed. Two behaviors appear in puberty which, perhaps, have not been clearly accounted for in the earlier development of the personality—homosexuality and promiscuity.

Three factors seem responsible for male homosexuality. The first of these is affectional neglect by the mother. This leads to the second factor, the boy's ambivalence to women, or his greater confidence in relations with youths who respect egocentric demands and do not immediately threaten emotional isolation. In other words, the passivity of homosexuality is not as threatening as dependence on women. Ambivalent feelings toward girls are also expressed in childhood, in the boy's teasing of girls, for example, a behavior which culminates in sexual teasing. The third factor in male homosexuality is identification with the father and the consequent development of positive attitudes toward all men; homosexuality, therefore, is unconsciously directed toward securing stronger emotional satisfactions from

[80] See Fromm, *Escape From Freedom* (1941), 30.

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men than could originally be obtained from the father and than dare be sought from women who, unconsciously, are mother equivalents.

The development of homosexuality in girls is not so clear. Important factors seem to include the strong positive ties between sisters, the girl's greater ability, conditioned by early cooperation among female members of the family, and fear of the aggressive components of intersexual sexual interaction. As a result of her egocentricity, the girl is not attracted to being a masochistic sexual object. Among members of her own sex she has greater opportunity to receive affectional gratification without threat to egocentricity.

The developmental significance of promiscuity has already been mentioned as signalling a woman's rebellion against the serving role which was never wholly congenial to her egocentric orientations. In the boy varied sexual intercourse complements his economic self-assertive roles and is also a means of overcoming the potency anxieties which appear with his awakening genitality.[8]

Conclusion. Our survey of the development of Kaska ethos in childhood has stressed the patterning of the dominant motivations, to a lesser extent illustrating their early expression. We have remained conscious of the need to avoid such simplification as would lead to correlating a dominant motive with any one specific childhood pattern. The situation is far more complex. At each moment in development, impacts on the child operate on what is already present and this cumulative process continues throughout childhood.

With this picture of the development of the ethos we have also finished the description of Kaska ethos. From a sample of the society's population we have sought to relate personality and culture to meet the definition of ethos. The result of this attempt is a theory subject to all the logical and empirical tests of coherency, reliability, and validity demanded of any scientific statement. How well the theory will sustain these tests remains to be determined.

[8] Fromm, *Sex and Character* (1942).

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The next day, while drunk, Old Man pointed out the fact that he never becomes aggressive when intoxicated and criticized Louis Mann for drunken hostility. "What's the matter Injun? Why can't he drink?" This remark is interpretable as identification with the ethnographer. When the liquor was depleted he said: "If I was girl I get something easy. Just knock on any door. Should be I dress like old woman and go around." Further passivity is revealed in this manifestation of homosexual tendencies. On August 14, while drunk, there was an overt homosexual approach to Edward Prince. As Old Man bent over the latter he said: "I'm gonna take his worm," and gestured toward the young man's genitals. On August 22, while en route to the winter settlement with the ethnographer, drinking commenced at the Bridge, and Old Man said he preferred to drink with white people who never became aggressive. "I'm ashamed of my own people." He also wanted to be assured that his own behavior under the influence of alcohol was perfect. These tendencies show the growing intensity of a passive homosexual transference to the ethnographer.

In the next few days Old Man several times told, with evident pleasure, how he had shot willow grouse pointed out to him by Elsie Lang. There followed a series of dreams expressing hostility and anxiety, all characterized by the speaker receiving support from a stranger person. While these dreams resolved immediate problems arising from Old Man's quarrel with John Koon, they also reflect the general weakening of egocentricity. Independent goals were giving place to dependence. On September 9, when the ethnographer suggested that Louis Mann looked worried, Old Man countered with a plea for sympathy, saying: "I worry all the time."

On September 14 (at Old Koon's place) Old Man remarked that perhaps Peter Tom would soon join the people going upriver. Then he said:

> "I dream Peter give me revolver . . . I dream one Caucasian Injun wants to fight us. So we scared. No use somebody kill us. Maybe I just worry about gun. So this Peter Tom give me revolver to kill this man. 'No use have trouble till I die.' I say. 'What you want to give me gun for?'"

The reference, "worry about gun," is an immediate association to the previous evening, when Adele Koon, drunk, had threatened to shoot her husband's brother, with whom she had been living. A day or so previously, Old Man had referred to Adele as a Telkot's Indian stranger and had declared that all the women of her tribe were adulterous. Asked for associations to the dream, Old Man identified Peter Tom as a hard working youth on whom Louis Mann is very dependent for meat, wood, and general assistance. To interpret the dream, Old Man is again letting somebody handle his aggressive impulses for him, but he is also revealing anxiety at his growing incapacity. He needs somebody like Peter Tom to hunt on and to hunt for him, somebody with strength and resourcefulness (revolver).

On the same day Old Man repeated a folktale which he had already related to the ethnographer the previous year. In the tale a man's wife shoots her blind husband out of food. The old man is befriended by his medicine animal, a loon. The man climbs on the bird's back and is flown across a lake. The bird then dips the old man into the water. When he emerges, the man can see a little better. Once more the bird dives, and this time, upon emerging, the man discovers he can see perfectly. The loon now directs the man to his wife, but warns him

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Upper Liard

hair, and running his hand across her shoulders and body. Lovers did not kiss. Various terms of endearment were current, a youth saying, for example, "You're my grub," to indicate his affection. Sibling terms of opposite sex commonly expressed the idea of "sweetheart" or "lover" but lovers also addressed each other as "brother-in-law" and "sister-in-law." Tumescence might be aided through manual contacts undertaken by a boy but a girl never touched a man's sexual organs. Oral contacts with the female genitals rarely took place, people regarding the woman's sexual parts as poisonous. A man usually removed trousers but not breech cloth or moccasins in sexual situations. The woman assumed a supine position on her back while the man lay over her, supporting part of his weight on the forearms. For a woman to lay astride a man threatened his hunting ability. Women disliked and never permitted coitus *à tergo*. On the average five minutes elapsed between intromission and ejaculation. The contraceptive practice of a woman partially withdrawing at the moment of her partner's orgasm discomforted the man and interfered with the strength of his climax. Women frequently bit during copulation, particularly at the moment of orgasm. Should a man finish before a woman, she might seize him from behind to force him to remain in her until she reached detumescence. Men did not generally wait for the partner to finish first but proceeded with coition at a pace to suit themselves. No hygienic measures followed the sex act. In return for her favors a man gave gifts to a partner other than a wife, presents that were returned by a companion who desired to show her affection. When they were presented to a married man such gifts often caused great embarrassment as the wife questioned their origin.

Many women in refusing sex relations apparently rationalized their aversion saying that they wanted to hunt game successfully. Sometimes a married woman tried to reduce the frequency of coitus in order to avoid pregnancy and childbirth, one gathers without much cooperation from the husband. The incidence of impotence in the male could not be ascertained: "a man is ashamed to tell that."

One man denied wife exchange but ascribed the pattern to the Tahltan, among whom a woman was sometimes loaned to a brother or a friend. We are inclined to disbelieve our informant in view of the fact that the contemporary Kaska are not adverse to wife exchange.[9] The same informant did admit that sometimes an old man who required a young man's assistance in hunting might invite a real or classificatory brother to live with him, allowing the young man sexual access to his wife. The relationship, however, was generally phrased as marriage.[10] Under conditions of polygyny a husband slept with a different sexual partner about once every two nights. "The youngest wife always wants to get more and the man has to try to give her plenty." Nevertheless a polygynous husband remained careful not to neglect the older woman. When fraternal polyandry was practiced, the auxiliary husband enjoyed access to a wife only during the absence of the first husband. A woman reported her husband's brother's attentions to the senior husband when the latter returned.

In one reported case of homosexuality a man, disinclined to heterosexual relations,

[9] Honigmann, *Culture and Ethos of Kaska Society* (1949), 165-166.
[10] For additional information concerning fraternal polyandry, see below, pp. 133, 133.

6: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945)1954 ND12 Nahane ND12
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838 sought young men as sexual partners, with whom he secured orgasm by opposing the glans of the penes. In the morning the homosexual rewarded his lovers with gifts, treating them "just as good as women." Although dressing as a man, the homosexual removed his clothing during sexual relations. Once he tried to secure anal intromission with a sleeping man who had been eating fat and who defecated against his would-be seducer. Female homosexuals simulated copulation by "getting on top of each other." Such women were often transvestites, but no male transvestites could be recalled. Sometimes if a couple had too many female children and desired a son to hunt for them in later years, they selected a daughter to be "like a man."[28] When she was about five year's old the parents tied the dried ovaries of a bear to her inner belt. She wore this amulet for the rest of her life in order to avoid conception. The girl was raised as a boy. She dressed in masculine attire and performed male allocated tasks, often developing great strength and usually becoming an outstanding hunter. She screamed and broke the bow and arrows of any boy who made sexual advances to her. "She knows that if he gets her then her luck with game will be broken." Apparently such a girl entered homosexual relationships.

839 Behavior corresponding to sexual sadism, masochism, and exhibitionism could not be recalled. Mentally ill women and old men sometimes publicly revealed their genitals. Voyeurs received a scolding but were not physically punished. Animal contacts occurred only rarely. Necrophilia appears to have been totally incompatible with the prevailing attitudes toward the dead, an interpretation concurred in by our informant.[29]

832 833 838 839 *Dease River Kaska.* Love songs constituted a means of winning girls' favors and also possessed magical properties designed to create favorable attitudes toward the wooer. In coitus the woman lay on her back. Cunnilinctus was denied but a rare woman performed fellatio as a preliminary to intercourse. Berdaches were unknown but the informant agreed that both male and female homosexuality sometimes occurred. Homosexual men engaged in sodomy, oral contacts being carefully avoided. Two women achieved orgasm through clitoral friction. An upper Liard River informant reported a case in which some Dease River youths who had killed a cow moose copulated with the animal, an act blamed for the subsequent depopulation of the Dease basin.

MARRIAGE

581 586 *Upper Liard Kaska.* Ideally marriages were for permanency and a man who tried to leave his wife would be urged by the community to reconsider his decision. Despite these ideal attitudes divorce was common.

581 [865] A man sought a wife "to dry meat for him," sew clothing, cook his meals, and perform the many other services culturally allocated to women. Marriage brought a youth a certain increment in prestige, marking as it did the transition to adulthood. It promised

[28] In Montenegro and other Balkan countries it was not uncommon for a girl to swear virginity and occupy the role of a man in a family without boys. Durham, *Some Tribal Origins, Laws, and Customs of the Balkans* (1928), 211.

[29] See below, p. 137. Thus do cultures limit the scope of deviation. See Mead, *Male and Female* (1949), 147.